

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 800

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9923

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING,
30 NOVEMBER

1. SUMMARY: IN AD HOC MEETING 30 NOVEMBER, UK REP (ROSE)
CIRCULATED DISCUSSION PAPER CONTAINING ARGUMENTS AGAINST
INCLUSION OF AIR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS. BELGIAN DEPREP
(WILLOT) URGED ADDITION OF DEMAND FOR DEACTIVATION OF SOME
WARSAW PACT AIRFIELDS BUT US AND SHAPE REPS CAUTIONED
AGAINST THUS CREATING OPENING FOR POSSIBLE EASTERN DEMANDS
FOR CLOSURE OF ALREADY CROWDED ALLIED AIRFIELDS. GROUP
DISCUSSION OF AHG PROGRESS REPORT TO NAC SEPTEL FOCUSED ON
ISSUES OF WHETHER GROUP SHOULD PRESS COUNCIL FOR DECISION
ON PRE-REDUCION MEASURES FOR USE IN JANUARY. FRG REP

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READ GDR DEFENSE MINISTER AND MARSHAL GRECHKO STATEMENTS

ASSERTING WARSAW PACT MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND PREDOMINANT
ROLE OF GROUND FORCE COMPONENTS, RESPECTIVELY. END SUMMARY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

2. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) REPORTED THAT IRAQI EMBASSY
OFFICER ASKED NETHERLANDS FIRST SECRETARY FOR COMPLETE LIST
OF MBFR DELEGATIONS -- WHICH NETHERLANDS REP TERMED A CURIOUS
REQUEST WITH WHICH HE THOUGHT IT UNNECESSARY TO COMPLY.
GROUP AGREED. BELGIAN DEPREP (WILLOT) REPORTED THAT POLISH
REP (STRULAK) HAD CALLED, INSISTING ON TWO PLENARIES IN WEEK
OF 2 DECEMBER AND PROPOSING PLENARIES ON 5 AND 7 DECEMBER.
GROUP AGREED THAT POLISH REP BE INFORMED THAT THESE DATES
BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES.

DRAFT UK PAPER ON ARGUMENTS FOR EXCLUSION ON AIR FORCES

3. UK REP (ROSE) CIRCULATED PAPER (SEE SEPTTEL) CONTAINING
ARGUMENTS AGAINST INCLUSION OF AIR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS.
US DEP REP OBSERVED THAT ARGUMENTS CONTAINED IN IT SHOULD
NOT AUTOMATICALLY BE USED IN NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL PAPER HAD
BEEN REVIEWED BY GROUP. UK REP AGREED. BELGIAN DEP RE
RAISED QUESTION CONCERNING GROUND INSTALLATIONS OF WARSAW
PACT AIR FORCES, AND SUGGESTED THAT A POINT BE ADDED URGING
DEACTIVATION OF WARSAW PACT AIRSTRIPS AND GROUND INSTAL-
LATIONS, SINCE THEY HAD A GREAT NUMBER OF THEM. US REP CAUTIONED
THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT WANT TO INVITE SOVIET DEMANDS FOR
ELIMINATION OF ALLIED AIRFIELDS AND GROUND INSTALLATIONS,
IF ALLIES OFFERED AIRCRAFT PORTION OF OPTION III. BELGIAN
DEPREP POINTED OUT WARSAW PACT POSSESSES MANY SMALL FIELDS,
MORE THAN ALLIES, AND PROPORTIONATE REDUCTION COULD BE IN
ALLIED INTEREST. SHAPE REP (GRIFFIN) SUPPORTED US REP,
SAYING THAT ALLIED BASES WERE ALREADY OVERCROWDED, AND
THAT CLOSURE OF ANY OF THEM WOULD AFFECT ALLIES MUCH MORE
SERIOUSLY THAN WARSAW PACT EVEN IN EVENT OF ASYMMETRICAL
REDUCTION, SINCE ALLIES HAD SO FEW AIRFIELDS AND THE PACT
MANY MORE. GROUP AGREED TO DROP THIS POINT.

AD HOC GROUP REPORT ON PROGRESS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

4. UK REP SUGGESTED THAT REPORT OF GROUP ON NEGOTIATION
PROGRESS BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT AMENDMENTS AS DRAFTED BY WORKING
GROUP. SEVERAL REPS AGREED, BUT US REP COMMENTED

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THAT PAPER WAS OF AN INFORMATIONAL NATURE AND NOT ONE WHICH
SHOULD PROPERLY REQUEST DECISIONS. PARA 1 THROUGH 1A OF ORI-
GINAL REPORT AS PROPOSED BY UK, READ AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

MAIN ISSUES

1. THE ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

(PARAGRAPHS 2-8) AND THEIR EVALUATION (PARAGRAPHS 9-15)
HIGHLIGHT THE FOLLOWING MAJOR ISSUES ON WHICH THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS ARE LIKELY TO FOCUS DURING THE NEXT STAGE AND ON SOME
OF WHICH COUNCIL DECISIONS ARE REQUIRED.

A. ASSOCIATED MEASURES: THE EASTERN SIDE IS RELUCTANT TO
ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES. THE WEST'S
POSITION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL THE COUNCIL HAS REACHED
AGREEMENT ON THE ENVISAGED PROPOSALS CONCERNING:

- PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES;
- AND STABILIZING MEASURES, INCLUDING NON-CIRCUMVENTION
AND VERIFICATION.

IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT AGREEMENT ON PRE-RE-
DUCTION MEASURES BE REACHED SOON. UNLESS THE ALLIES ARE
IN A POSITION TO BE MORE SPECIFIC SOON AFTER THE RECESS,
THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES MAY FIND DIFFICULTY IN GETTING
THE EAST TO DISCUSS THE WEST'S PROPOSALS SERIOUSLY.

END TEXT.

5. IN COMMENTING ON DRAFT, US REP SAID IT HAD BEEN AGREED
BY THE GROUP THAT THE AD HOC GROUP'S REPORT SHOULD NOT BE
A DECISION PAPER BUT A REPORT OF ACTUAL EVENTS, THAT IS,
IT SHOULD NOT RAISE ISSUES FOR DECISION. IT WAS AN INFOR-
MATION REPORT. HOWEVER, THE MATERIAL IN THIS PARA WENT
BEYOND THIS POINT. THE GROUPS REPORT WOULD BE AN ANNEX
OF A REPORT ADDRESSED TO MINISTERS. INCLUSION OF THE
MATERIAL IN QUESTION COULD BE CONSIDERED TO
CALL FOR A DECISION BY MINISTERS. BUT THE COUNCIL IN ITS
MEETING NOVEMBER 29, HAD DECIDED THAT IT WOULD NOT RAISE
ANY SPECIFIC MBFR QUESTIONS FOR MINISTERIAL ATTENTION.
THIS DECISION WAS INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT THERE WERE SOME
UNRESOLVED MBFR ISSUES, BUT THE COUNCIL DID NOT BELIEVE THAT
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THESE ISSUES WERE RIPE FOR MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION IN THE
DECEMBER 10-11 MEETING. IN ADDITION, THE COUNCIL REPORT TO
MINISTERS WOULD REFER TO THE FACT THAT URGENT EXAMINATION IS
UNDER WAY ON THE QUESTION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES. ACCORDINGLY,
THERE WAS NO NEED TO DUPLICATE MAKING THIS POINT TO THE MIN-
ISTERS. IT DID NOT SEEM APPROPRIATE FOR THE AD HOC GROUP
TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TO THE FACT
THAT THE COUNCIL HAS NOT YET REACHED A DECISION ON ASSOCIATED
MEASURES, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE COUNCIL
ITSELF HAD DECIDED ON 29 NOVEMBER NOT TO RAISE ANY SPECIFIC
MBFR QUESTIONS FOR MINISTERIAL ATTENTION.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 2 VIENNA 9923

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
FROM US REP MBFR

6. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) COMMENTED THAT REPORT WAS ADDRESSED TO NAC, NOT TO MINISTERS, AND THAT THE NAC ALREADY HAD SPC REPORT, TO WHICH AHG PROGRESS REPORT WOULD MERELY BE AN ANNEX. BELLIAN DEP REP SUPPORTED US REP. HE WARNED AGAINST PUSHING MINISTERS OVER HEAD OF COUNCIL FOR DECISION.

7. SUPPORTED BY NETHERLANDS, FRG, AND CANADIAN REPS, BELGIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT THE IDEA CONTAINED IN PARA 1 BE RETAINED BUT COUCHED IN SOFTER LANGUAGE. FRG REP (BEHREND) SAID IT WAS A PITY TO DELETE IT, SINCE NAC DID NOT TAKE OFFENSE AT HIS ORAL PRESENTATION. CANADIAN REP AGREED THAT OFFICIAL FEATHERS MUST NOT BE RUFFLED, BUT POINT HAD TO BE MADE THAT WITHOUT MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE, GROUP COULD NOT CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE. HE SUGGESTED ADDING A FEW WORDS TO CLARIFY THIS POINT. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT GROUP SHOULD
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RECORD THAT IT HAD PROFFERED ITS ADVICE AND HAD NOT REMAINED PASSIVE IN FACE OF NEED FOR DECISION ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES. IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO POINT OUT THAT GROUP WOULD BE IN DIFFICULT TACTICAL POSITION IN JANUARY UNLESS GUIDANCE WERE FORTHCOMING. THIS REINSURANCE WAS NECESSARY TO PREVENT SUBSEQUENT CRITICISM FROM COUNCIL.

8. US REP SUGGESTED THAT GROUP MERELY REPORT TO COUNCIL THAT ALLIES MUST BE IN A POSITION WHEN VIENNA TALKS RESUME IN JANUARY TO DEVELOP THEIR SPECIFIC VIEWS ON STABILIZATION MEASURES AND REDUCTIONS. FRG REP EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PRE-REDUCTION RESTRAINTS WERE PRECLUDED FROM THIS FORMULATION; THESE SHOULD BE DISCUSSED PRIOR TO REDUCTION. UK REP SAID THAT IDEA OF PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES MAY FALL BY THE WAYSIDE; ACCOMPANYING MEASURES COULD NOT BE NEGOTIATED SEPARATELY FROM THE REDUCTIONS TO WHICH THEY RELATE. NETHERLANDS REP SAID IT WAS UP TO NAC TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO INCLUDE PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS; AS MATTERS NOW STAND, THEY ARE NOW WITHIN THE MANDATE OF THE GROUP. WITHOUT REPROACH OR DISRESPECT, GROUP SHOULD, HOWEVER, POINT OUT THAT ALLIES WILL BE IN DIFFICULT TACTICAL POSITION IN JANUARY. BELGIAN DEP REP COMMENTED THAT TERM STABILIZING MEASURES APPEARED TO EXCLUDE VERIFICATION. HE ADDED THAT ALLIES HAD TO ADVANCE SOMETHING IN JANUARY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN CREDIBILITY WITH THE EAST. PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES WOULD THEREFORE HAVE TO BE PRESENTED. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, GROUP AGREED TO DROP LANGUAGE IN REPORT REFERRING TO NEED FOR COUNCIL DECISION ON PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS.

9. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT STATEMENT IN PARA 10 OF AHG REPORT MADE TOO MUCH OF A SINGLE BILATERAL BETWEEN BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) AND EAST GERMAN REP. STATEMENT IN PARA 10 THAT EASTERN DELEGATES HAD "ADMITTED" THAT EARLY INCLUSION OF NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS MIGHT PRE-EMPT EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION WAS INACCURATE, SINCE EAST GERMAN DELEGATE CONCERNED HAD MERELY RESPONDED TO INTERPRETATION OF EASTERN POSITION ADVANCED BY BELGIAN REP. SINCE SEVERAL REPS REGARDED EAST GERMAN REPS RESPONSE IN THIS EXCHANGE AS SIGNIFICANT, IT WAS AGREED TO SUBSTITUTE "CONCEDED" FOR "ADMITTED" AND RETAIN THE PARAGRAPH.

COMMENT: THIS EXCHANGE ILLUSTRATES TENDENCY OF EUROPEAN
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COMMUNITY PARTICIPANTS TO DRAMATIZE WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION ISSUE. END COMMENT.

10. FRG REP READ EXCERPT FROM AN ARTICLE ON MBFR BY GDR DEFENSE MINISTER OF 30 MAY 1973 IN WHICH HE CLEARLY ASSERTED

MILITARY SUPERIORITY OF WARSAW PACT AND ALSO RECENT STATEMENT
BY MARSHAL GRECHKO TO EFFECT THAT LAND FORCES ARE THE
STRONGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF ARMED FORCES.
HE SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES COULD USE THESE STATEMENTS IN FUTURE
PLENARIES IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET STATEMENT IN PLENARY ON
28 NOVEMBER.

11. GROUP AGREED TO HOLD NEXT MEETING ON AFTERNOON OF
3 DECEMBER.
HUMES

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